Some New and Accurate

OBSERVATIONS

Geographical, Natural and Hiſtorical.

Containing a true and impartial

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Situation, Product, and Natural Hiſtory

OF THE

Coaſt of *GUINEA*,

SO FAR

As relates to the Improvement of that Trade, for the Advantage of *Great Britain* in general, and the *Royal African Company* in particular.

By *JAMES HOUSTOUN*, M. D.

Humbly Addreſs'd to the Honourable the Court of Aſſiſtants of the Royal African Company *of* Great Britain.

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OBSERVATIONS

Geographical, Natural and Historical.

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ACCOUNT

ERRATA.

PAge 19. Line 2. *Cracraw Head* read *Cracraw per Head.* l. 12. *everawed* r. *overawed.* Page 21. l. 11. *Tamarond* r. *Tamarind.* *Cocoa* r. *Cocoe.* Line 22. *Guaven* r. *Guavaw.* Page 24. l. 6. *Calyack* r. *Caliack.* Page 45. l. 18. *I has* r. *I have.*

FH

MVSEVM

BRITANNICVM

I Have perused the Papers you left with me, which I sincerely think are very just and right, and what you will be inexcusable, if you do not divulge in the best manner you shall think proper. The Gentlemen are filling my Room, that I must close, being with great Truth,

SIR,

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SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

FRA. LYNN, *Sec.*

Some New and Accurate

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Coaſt of *Guinea*.

Addreſs'd to the

Honourable Aſſiſtants of the Royal *African* Company.

HAVING the Honour to be employed in this Honourable Company's Service in the Station of Phyſician to their Settlements on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and Chief Surgeon at *Cape Coaſt Caſtle*; and having had the Satisfaction (if there is any ſuch thing in this Country) of viſiting all your Settlements on the Coaſt, excepting *Gam-*

bay and *Angola*; I think it my indiſpenſible Duty to give your Honours a true and impartial Account of your Settlements, to obviate the Miſrepreſentations given you by ſelfiſh, mean, cringing Creatures, to ſerve only their own little mercenary Ends; and to detect the Barbarities and Villainies of your chief Agents Abroad, whom you are pleaſed to entitle Captain Generals and Chief Governors. And as there are Gentlemen of the ſtricteſt Honour and Honeſty engaged in this Honourable Company, I flatter myſelf that it will be taken in good Part, that I give your Honours a true and impartial Account, how far your Settlements may be improved for the real Advantage of Trade, and what Obſtructions and Hindrances they lie under at this preſent Time.

I arrived at your Settlement of *Sierra Leon*, I think it was the beginning of *July* 1722, where I was received with good Manners by your Chief Agent there, Mr. *Plunkett*. I ſhall not trouble your Honours with the Topography of that Place, ſeeing you can find it elſewhere; only

only tell you, that the River of *Sierra Leon* forms ſeveral beautiful Iſlands, on one of which ſtands the Company's Factory, about Eight Miles from the Mouth of the River; where there's a ſafe Harbour called *Frenchman's Bay*, with a fine Watering-Place, with the pureſt Water continually ſpringing from the woody Rocks.

About Three Miles diſtant from that Iſland where your Factory ſtands, is a pleaſant and moſt fertile Iſland, formed by that ſame River, called *Terſas*, about Eight Miles in Circumference. This Iſland, I'm perſwaded, is capable of producing, with due Cultivation, every thing produceable under the *Torrid Zone*. Here ſprouts up, without any Cultivation, plenty of *Indigo* Buſhes; and I have meaſured a Cotton Tree on this Iſland, in Preſence of Mr. *David Scot*, Factor, and Mr. *Hoskins*, Surgeon, the Trunk of which meaſured Thirteen Fathoms in Circumference: But as Cotton Trees increaſe in Age, Bulk, and Branches, they decreaſe in Number of Pods; for the numerous Pods fit for Manufacture, are only found on Shrubs.

Had I been a Windle-straw-man, I might have made a Collection of different Plants here, and ranged them under their different Classes, to entertain the Fraternity; but as my Genius never led me to the Study of Speculative Botany, farther than a Branch of Physick, I freely own, my Knowledge in the Vegetable, Animal and Mineral Kingdoms extends no farther than what's comprehended under the *Materia Medica*. Or if I had had the Honour to be of the Number of the *Virtuosi*, I had certainly made a great Collection of Butterflies, of which there are great Numbers and vast Variety here; not neglecting the Cockle-Shells, which very much resemble our Cowries, which might have been of considerable Use to me afterwards, as current Money on the Slave-Coast. How far these Collections might have contributed to the Rise of *African* Stock, I shall not pretend to determine; only to beg Pardon if Neglect of Duty has contributed any Thing to the Detriment of the Company upon that Account; The only Apology I have to make for my self is, that

I was credibly informed that your Honours had appointed a Gentleman to visit the Coast, who had made Botany his particular Study, who was to make a particular Collection of all Herbs, *Aromatick* Plants, Butterflies, Cockle-Shells, *&c.* which would have contributed to the Advantage of the learned World, and for ought I know, likewise to the Advantage of the Company. I always looked upon my principal Business and Care, to see if I could contribute any thing to the Preservation of your Servants Health Abroad, and that the Company was not imposed on by their Agents purchasing sickly and disabled Slaves. How far I have suffered by exerting my self on this Account, will appear by the Sequel; which I hope your Honours, by your known Justice and Generosity, and for Advantage to the Company, will redress. What Dispensary Herbs came under my Cognizance in this Place, are *Calamus Aromaticus*, *Serpentaria*, but much inferior to the *Virginian*; the Roots of which Herbs I infus'd in Brandy, of which I took a

Drachm

Drachm now and then, to support my drooping Spirits, and gave it as a Cordial to the Sick; so I can experimentally attest its being a pleasant Bitter and good Stomatick, by restricting the relaxed Fibres of the Stomach. I likewise found some Herbs of the Emollient kind, resembling our *Mallows* and *Marsh-mallows*, and the Flower of an Herb much resembling our *Camomil*, which I made use of for emollient Fomentations and Cataplasms. There is a Leaf of a Dwarf Tree or Shrub, much resembling our *Bay* Leaf, made use of by the Natives and our White People in the hot Bath with wonderful good Success; It is Emollient, Relaxant, and Absorbent, or I may rather say Attractive, by sucking up the obnoxious Particles, when the Pores are opened by the hot Water, suck'd in with the pestilential Air, and thrown on the Habit of the Body by the Force of Circulation.

It is remarkable, that over all this Coast there are vast Quantities of a Plant call'd *Morsus Diaboli*, or *Devil's Bite*. Here are likewise prodigious Quantities of

Limes,

Limes, Oranges, Plantanes and Bonanaes; and down where the River opens into the Sea, where the Ships lie in Harbour, there are high Lands inhabited by several *Engliſhmen*, ſeparate Traders from the Company; where I have ſeen Citron Trees in their Gardens, bearing Fruit to Perfection without any Cultivation, only the Seed put in the Ground without inoculating, or ſo much as tranſplanting the Tree in its tender Years.

I remember, being on the Iſland of *Terſas* one Day, it being then the rainy Seaſon, I was drove to protect myſelf from the Violence of Rains which fell in ſuch Deluges, with violent Lightnings and Thunder, as if the Heavens and Earth were coming together, into a Houſe, or I may rather ſay a Hutt, inhabited by an old Negro Woman, a Slave to our Company: The poor old Creature was ſitting over a Fire, baking Bread, the Meal was made of the Roots of a Tree pounded, which ſhe call'd *Jamming* in her Dialect, between two Stones: I taſted of the Bread when baked, which ſhe call'd *Manioco*; it had much of the

Taſte

Taste of a roasted Potatoe, only dryer and sweeter; but I take the Food to be wholsome and hearty enough, for this Woman seem'd to be of a good old Age, and at the same time of a hail Constitution; but neither she, nor any of her Species that ever I met with on the Coast, can give an Account of their Age; nor is there any of the Negroes that can count above Thirty Six, and they divide their Time by Moons. This poor Creature had nothing but this Bread, or a roasted Plantane to live on, and was vigorous and strong considering her Age, which I took at least to be Seventy: She's the sole Inhabitant of this Island, and her little Hut is Part of the Remains of the Company's Factory House, which Mr. *Plunkett* told me was first on this Island; but the Unwholesomness of the Air proceeding from the Island not being cleared from Wood, which caused a great Mortality amongst the Company's Servants, even to the Danger of his own Life, and he not having Hands enough to clear the Island, he was obliged to remove the Factory to a

much

much leſſer Iſland, on which it ſtands at preſent, much better ſituated by Nature for Defence; more clear of all Wood, but not by much ſo fertile, nor does it produce ſo good Water; but that Defect may be ſupply'd by fetching it from thence, being only three Miles diſtant.

I chanced to be talking to Mr. *Plunkett*, one Day, about the different Produces that this Country, I mean the *Grain Coaſt*, was capable of producing for the Advantages of Trade; which gave him an Occaſion to ſhew me a Mineral, which he gather'd in great Quantities from the Sand of the River, which he then fancied contain'd ſome Gold or Silver: It was a ſmall Duſt of the chalybiated Kind; but its Specifick Gravity bearing a vaſt Diſproportion from the Specifick Gravity of Gold or even Silver, I was perſuaded if it contained either of thoſe noble Minerals, it was but in a very ſmall Proportion. I made what Experiments on it the Conveniency of the Place cou'd afford, by ſeparating the Parts in a Crucible in a Blackſmith's Furnace; in the

Diſſolution, the Metallick Part ſepa-rated from the Ore, and reſembled Silver in Colour, but came vaſtly ſhort of the Specifick Gravity of Silver. Mr. *Plunkett* ſent your Honours ſeveral Pounds to make Experiments on't, which I'm afraid came to no bearing; ſo I only beg leave to repeat the *Virgilian* Expreſſion that Mr. *Plunkett* then made uſe of to your Honours, *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit auri ſacra fames.*

There's a ſort of a Rattane grows at *Sherbro*, which the Country People dye in-to different Colours with the Juice of a Berry, and work them very artificially in-to Matts, which they lay on the Floor of their little Hutts, and is all the Bedding that even the better ſort of the Natives make uſe of; the common Negroes lie naked on the bare Ground. When I was at *Sierra Leon*, Mr. *Plunkett* redeem'd, for the Uſe of the Company, ſome free Ne-gro Women at *Sherbro*, who were taken Captives by their Neighbours, and ſet them to work about theſe Matts, and making ſome Bottoms and Backs to Chairs, which he deſign'd for a Preſent,

to

to ſhew the Ingenuity of the Natives, to a *truly Noble Peer*, who honours your Society by being a Member of it; on which your Honours made a Demand on him for Fifty Thouſand ſuch for the Uſe of the Company; whereas, to my certain Knowledge, it was with the greateſt Difficulty he cou'd get ſo much Rattane, and as many Hands to manage thoſe few he ſent for a Sample.

I am fully perſwaded, that your Honours have the Intereſt of the Company at Heart, and act only from that Motive; which makes you lay hold of any Project, tho' miſrepreſented by ignorant Miſcreants, which ſeemingly tends to the Advantage of the Company; this induces me to take the Freedom to tell your Honours, that there's not the leaſt Probability of finding either Gold or Silver on the *Grain Coaſt*: But if there can be any reaſonable Propoſals made to your Honours, of ſettling a Manufactury of *Indigo*, I aſſure you this Country will produce what Quantity you pleaſe; as likewiſe you may have Plantations of *Cotton*; and, indeed, this is the only Part of the

Coaſt, including *Gambay*, fit for ſuch Plantations, by reaſon of the numerous fertile Iſlands, produced by the Rivers of *Gambay* and *Sierra Leon*. Theſe Iſlands are naturally a Defence to themſelves, from what Incurſions the Natives are capable of making againſt them; and may be cleared of Wood by a few Hands, even by the Company's Shipping Slaves, at no Coſt; which at the ſame time might fetch a conſiderable Profit to the Company, from the great Quantity of Lixiviate fix'd Salt, with which this Wood is ſo plentifully impregnated, for the Manufactury of Soap.

I muſt take the Liberty here to refute the univerſal, tho' falſly receiv'd, Opinion, that it's only ſome particular Wood, whoſe fix'd Salt is fit for the Manufactury of Soap, *&c.* But I aſſure your Honours, that all Lixiviate fix'd Salt, extracted from what Wood or Plant ſoever, is of the ſame Nature and Quality, both as to its Medicinal and Manufactury Uſes; ſo they only differ in Quantity, not in Quality. Some Wood, and this in particular, which all

theſe

thoſe Iſlands are overgrown with, yields a much greater Quantity of this Salt than others, and conſequently moſt fit for this Purpoſe. I cou'd diſcant ſome Hours in demonſtrating the Advantages which accrue from a Manufactury of Soap; but I hear there's ſuch a Manufactury at *London*, under the Direction of a Gentleman of the moſt polite Learning, and univerſal Knowledge, whoſe Capacity is ſo extenſive, that nothing can poſſibly eſcape his juſt Obſervation.

Your Honours may, perhaps, think that it is out of my Province to talk of Trade; but as it is the general Converſation of the Place, and naturally falls in with the Notions of any Body on the Spot; and he that's only endow'd with common Reaſon and Judgment, may be as competent a Judge of the Trade of this Coaſt, as the moſt refin'd Merchant; I hope your Honours will pardon me, if I tell you, that I have talk'd with the moſt ſenſible of theſe ſeparate Traders in this Place, whom your Honours look upon as a Nuiſance to the Company, and have

heard

heard the Propoſals your Honours made to unite them as Servants to the Company: But give me Leave to ſay, there's no Occaſion of Articles with them, provided you give them a better Price for what Slaves they make, than Interlopers, which you propoſe in your Articles; and take off their Hands whatever Number they are able to make, which will naturally lead them to be voluntary Agents for the Company only. And indeed, it's my Opinion, and I think it demonſtrable, that it wou'd be infinitely for the Advantage of the Company, that your own Servants were under ſuch Regulations; which I ſhall humbly propoſe in the Sequel of this Narration, when it ſhall more naturally fall in with Propoſals for Regulations, for the better Preſervation of your Servants Health Abroad.

But as Mr. *Plunkett* nor I were no ways impower'd by your Honours to put your Settlement under any new Regulations, however advantageous for the Benefit of your Servants; ſo I cou'd only be ſerviceable by viſiting the Sick, and adminiſtring

miniſtring what Things were neceſſary for their preſent Diſtempers, and furniſhing this, as I did moſt of your other Settlements, with Medicines, which I brought from *England*, at my own Charge; for indeed I found very few Medicines here, or elſewhere, on the Coaſt; and even thoſe few very much damnified.

After having ſtay'd ſome Time here, and having been of ſome Service to your poor periſhing Servants, as appears by Mr. *Plunkett*'s Certificate to your Honours, I proceeded on my Voyage according to my Inſtructions to the *Gold Coaſt*: We put out to Sea as uſual, and the firſt Land we made was *Cape Palmas*; there's nothing remarkable along this Coaſt, till we come to the Subordinate Factory of *Dicks Cove*, only all this Country being one continued Thicket of Wood, the great Variety form'd by the Tops of the never-fading Trees, makes the fineſt and moſt beautiful Landskip, viewed from the ſmooth Sea all along the Coaſt, that ever my Eyes beheld. There are a great many little Towns all along

this

this Coaſt, built on the Sands by the numerous Negroes flocking from the Inland Countries, and building their little Hutts by the Sea-ſide, for the Convenience of trading with the Coaſting Ships; ſuch as *Jaque Lahoe*, *Jaque a Jaque*, *Aſſine*, *Great* and *Little Baſſam*, with many others; ſo that I aſſure your Honours, if we had had a Power to Slave our Ship, we cou'd have put more Slaves on board, beſides Teeth and Gold, in one Month's Time, in that Coaſting Voyage, than your Governor and Merchants were able to do in Five Months at *Cape Coaſt*. I remember we put in at *Cape Three Points*, the only Watering-Place on that Coaſt; there ſtands *Fredericksburg Fort*, which formerly belonged to the preſent King of *Pruſſia*, now in Poſſeſſion of one *John Conny*, a very great *Caboceer* of that Country; for he has almoſt all that Country at his Command: Hearing from his Domeſticks that came on board, on Embaſſy from him, with his Gold-headed Cane, as a Badge of their inveſted Power, to demand of us ſome little trifling Affair for watering there;

there; that he was a great Lover of the *English*, but a mortal Enemy to the *Dutch*. My Curiosity led me ashore to visit King *Cumy* in his Castle, who receiv'd me very kindly, with the usual Ceremonies of their Country Musick, Drums and Horns, and ask'd me what Wines I pleas'd to drink? He had several sorts of *European* Wines, but I chose rather to drink, what I knew was more agreeable to him, Brandy; which he, to compliment me, caused to be made into Punch. When he turn'd to his Wives warm'd with Liquor, he shew'd me a *Dutchman's* Skull, and ask'd me, if I wou'd pledge him in a Bumper of Punch, to the Damnation of the *Dutch*, from that Skull? I humour'd the Jest, but begg'd he would excuse me, the Draught being too large for me. If we had been empower'd to trade with him on Account of the Company, I cou'd have purchased from him a considerable Number of Slaves, with what Quantity I pleased of Rice, the only Product of this Country, for the Soil seems agreeable for nothing else; and it's from hence

that most part of the *Gold Coast* is furnish'd with that Grain. Here's a fine River that goes a great many Miles into the Inland Country, and finely shaded on each side by lofty Trees.

I shall pass by the *Dutch* Settlements here, without taking the least Notice of them, as not being worth your Honours while, seeing you can have an Account of them elsewhere; only when we come to Trade, I shall remark what Disadvantages we lie under by them: As we came along the Coast, we call'd in at *Dick's Cove* for Wood, where your Honours have a pretty little compacted Fort; but I'm sorry to tell you, we found nothing in it but one poor Gentleman, a Writer, who was chief Factor, Writer, and every thing; and two or three Creatures call'd Soldiers, just ready to expire for want of the common Necessaries of Life. Here you may see some Hundreds of Negroes of the Female Kind, sifting the Sand pushed down by the Rapidity of the River that comes from the Inland Countries, and opens into the Sea, for Gold Dust; and they esteem'd it a good Day's

Work, if they found to the Value of a *Cruzado*, which is about Two Pence Half-penny. The Chief, as they call'd him, told me, by the Disturbances of the Natives amongst themselves, their Trade had been entirely interrupted for some time; but even when Trade was open, that they had but a very small Parcel of Goods to carry on any Trade worth talking of; and even those few Goods they were afraid to dispose of, tho' in a fair way of Trade, being overawed with the Dread of the Despotick Power of the General, who only wanted a handle to mulct them in what Sums he thought fit, to satiate his own avaritious Desires; and indeed this poor Man had lately met with an Instance of it, the General having lately mulcted him of Two Months Salary and Substance, for only going to *Secondee* without his Leave, to see an Acquaintance who was dying, and earnestly begg'd to see him: But I'm perswaded, that if we cou'd have furnish'd this Man with Goods, free of the Tyrannical Power of the Governor, he was able to have furnish'd us a considerable

Number of Slaves to a good Advantage for the Company. We likewise call'd in at *Secondee*, where we found your Fort much in the same Condition, with one poor Gentleman in't, whose Life was a Burthen to him; for your General had brought him more in Debt to the Company, than ever he could possibly extricate himself from, and stop'd his Allowance for the Discharge of it; so that he was even reduced to Starving in a starved Country. This Country all round is very mountainous, all covered with lofty Trees, yet forms some Vallies as plentiful and pleasant as any in the World; which produce Oranges, Lemons, Limes, Pines, and, in short, all manner of Ardmatick Fruits. I never had an Opportunity of seeing your Honours Fort at *Commenda*, but I have had a very particular Description of it; by its Situation, Strength and Bigness we are able to demolish our Antagonist, the *Dutch* Fort hard by it, if ever we shou'd have a Rupture with them.

I'm now arrived at your Honours principal Fort of *Cabo Corso Castle*. I shall not now trouble your Honours with a Description of it, only say, that by its Situation, Strength, and commodious Apartments, it is capable of lodging a Garrison able to defend themselves against whatever Force, whether *European* or Natives, that Country is able to muster up against them, and to keep their own Ships safe in the Harbour under their own Cannon. Here your Honours have a large Field of Gardening Ground, at least Ten Miles in Circumference, capable, with due Cultivation, of producing any thing producable under the *Torrid Zone*. The Ground is mountainous, and forms fine, pleasant, and fertile Vallies, which produce all sorts of Fruit Trees, such as Cinnamon, Citron, Tamarond, Cocoa, Papay, Palm, Lemon, Orange, Lime and Guavan, *&c.* besides great Variety of Pot-Herbs and Roots. I shall not trouble your Honours with a Description of these Trees, seeing you can have it elsewhere; and I shall have occasion to talk of the Virtues of some

of

of them, especially the Palm Tree, when I account for the Diseases so fatal to your Servants Abroad, from whence they have their Sources. I must remark, that the Cinnamon here is of the Bastard kind, for want of Inoculation and due Cultivation in its tender Years; but I never, in all my Travels, saw finer and larger Lemons and Oranges: I have extracted their essential Oil as fine as any in the World. There might be raised here Plantations of Sugar Canes, which grow without any Cultivation, and plenty of Cotton Shrubs, fertile in Pods; and I am perswaded the *Madera* Vine would thrive better on those Hills than in its native Soil, for the Mold is in every respect the same, only superior in Fertility. I need not tell your Honours, that down from *Cape Three Points* to *Acra*, all the Inland circumjacent Countries produce considerable Quantities of Gold, which the cunning and laborious, though ignorant *Negroes* pick up from the scatter'd Veins of the rich Mines, and from the Sands, washed down by the Rapidity

of

of the River. Before I arrived at *Cape Coaſt*, by ſeeing Pieces of ſolid Gold, juſt as it was dug from the Earth, I was fully perſuaded that there were real Gold Mines of the richeſt ſort in this Country; but I ſuſpended my Judgment from any farther Enquiry, 'till my Arrival at *Cape Coaſt*, where I heard your Honours had ſent from *England*, a certain Number of Miners, with two Gentlemen Overſeers, who had made the Mineral Kingdom their particular Study and Practice. I found, at my Arrival, moſt of them dead, and thoſe alive were now and then a digging of little Holes or Pits in the Ground by the Sea-ſide, and ſearching that Earth for Gold; which appeared to me to be rather a Burleſque than any real Enquiry: But I was told afterwards, that they durſt not venture the Miners out of the reach of the Caſtle Guns, leſt the *Negroes*, who certainly took them for Conjurers, ſhould make Incurſions on them, to the Hazard of their Lives. But how unaccountable is it to think, that the Mines, which we have good reaſon to believe are only in

the

the Inland Countries, should extend their Veins or Branches to the Sea, which, if once found, an expert Artist could as easily trace them to their Source or main Body, as an expert Anatomist could trace a Branch of the Calyack, or any other Artery or Vein, to its original Source and Trunk, the *Aorta*; nor do I believe there's any one Mine all over *Africa*, found out even to the *Negroes*, tho' we have very good Reasons to believe there are such, and very rich of their Kind, from the Pieces of Mountain Gold dug from the scatter'd Veins, which we purchase from the Natives, though they cunningly and industriously conceal from us how they come by it; nor indeed do I see any Prospect we have of ever discovering them, through the inaccessible Way to the Inland Countries, which must be pushed through a Thicket of Wood. The Scarcity of Provisions for Subsistance, and the Resistance that necessarily must be made by the Natives, are Reasons of the Impossibility of the Project of discovering and possessing their Mines; which at the same Time I am

fully

perſwaded do really exiſt, if we knew how to get at them; but I do really believe, at a very modeſt Computation, there is above 40000 Ounces of Gold *per Ann. communibus annis*, over the *Gold Coaſt*, pickt up by the Natives, the Product of the Inland Countries, and diſpoſed of to different Hands, and carried to different Parts of *Europe*; beſides 25 or 30000 Ounces more brought to the Coaſt from *Brazil*, by the *Portugueze*, to purchaſe Slaves, and carried from thence by *European* Hands into different Parts of *Europe*, viz. *England*, *Holland* and *France*. I have likewiſe viſited your Forts of *Annamaboe*, *Winnaeba*, *Tantumquerry*, and *Acra*; and indeed they more reſemble haunted Houſes than garriſon'd Forts, having one Ghoſt above Stairs, and perhaps 2 or 3 at moſt below, ſpinning out a Life that is a real Burden to them, in a miſerable Condition, under the Tyranny of Deſpotick Power, lodged in villanous Hands; ſo that Trade, tho' never ſo brisk in the Country, muſt be intirely ſtifled, thro' the Inability of a poor ſtarved Gentle-

man, who must likewise bear the blame of the want of Trade, to exculpate the Designs of his Superiors.

Your Honours can be no Strangers to this Usage; but I shall take the Liberty to refresh your Memories, in detecting the Villanies in the Management of your Chief Agent, or Governor, as they are pleas'd to call him, at your Settlement at *Whydah*, where I am now arrived, in an open, pleasant, plentiful fine champaign Country, as any this Globe can produce. We have a continual Verdure on a level Ground, at the Distance of every half Mile, finely beautified with a Grove of lofty Trees, which forms a fine Shade, where you may view the Country several Miles round you, without so much as one Hillock to intercept the lovely Prospect. Nature has made this Country vie, if not exceed, for Pleasure and Plenty, abstracting from the Embellishments of Art, any in *Europe*. The Soil is extraordinary fertile, producing four Crops yearly, *viz.* Two of Corn, small and great; one of Beans, resembling the

French Beans; and one of Potatoes. And the laborious Negroes don't leave one Bit of Ground uncultivated, but make their yearly Demand; for as ſoon as Mother Earth has yielded up one Crop, they commit another to her Nurture. Here are plenty of all manner of Cattle, Fowl of all ſorts, tame and wild, and Fiſh in Perfection; in ſhort, every thing neceſſary for the Support of humane Life, nay, even to feed Luxury. This Country produces nothing fit for Exportation but Slaves, from whence there are incredible Numbers carried off Yearly; the contiguous Countries producing only a few Teeth, ſo that all along the Coaſt, where your Honours have any Concern, from *Gambay* to this Place, I compute there are carried off by different Hands, above 30000 Slaves yearly, and of that Number more than one Half are carried from hence. How many of that Number are purchaſed by your Honours Agent here, for the Benefit of the Company, you are competent Judges; but I muſt beg leave to acquaint your Honours of the Manner,

which I take to be my indiſpenſible Duty, in diſcharging the Truſt of a faithful Servant to the Company, by laying open to the World the Villanies committed by one of your Chief Agents, to the Diſgrace of the Directors his Maſters, and intire Ruin of the Company.

Mr. *B—ldw—n* having about Two Hundred and Eighty Slaves, which were the Refuſe of a much greater Number ſold to the *Portugueze*, and having your Honours Ship the *Whydah*, Capt. *Levett* Commander, waiting to be ſlav'd by him; he ſent the Ship, and put Mr. *Mabyn*, your chief Merchant, on board of her, to be ſlaved to the Windward, and muſt needs put thoſe Two Hundred and Eighty Slaves on board to take the Air; for indeed they wanted it much, for they were ſo meagre, and old, and lame, they cou'd ſcarcely ſtand upright. I told him my Opinion was, he had better keep them Slaves in the Trunk till Capt. *Levett*'s Return, which was ordered in three Months Time; for they were more fit for an Hoſpital than a

Voyage,

Voyage, meerly to take the Air, for ſo it appeared; for the Inconveniencies of ſtowing Negroes on board was the Cauſe of a much greater Mortality than otherwiſe wou'd have happen'd, to the great Loſs and Detriment of the Company. I exerted my ſelf on this, as on other Occaſions, for the Honour, and Intereſt of the Company, and ſuffer'd the utmoſt Miſery by tyrannical Villany on that Account; which I now lay open to your Honours, and can atteſt every Fact; and only appeal for your Judgment, whether or not it was my Buſineſs to look into Slaves that I was to atteſt were merchantable, when at the ſame Time I was convinced they were not worth One Shilling *per* Head, tho' undoubtedly they were ſtated at a good Rate, as merchantable Slaves to your Honours Account; and Mr. *B—ldw—n* only wanted to have them die out of his Cuſtody, that there might be no farther Enquiry made about them; for a dead Slave was better in his Pocket than a living one. He then ſwore he wou'd be reveng'd on me, and told me he would

wou'd make a Devil of the Doctor, with the reſt of his *Billingſgate* Phraſes; but never cou'd meet with any thing for Pretence to ſerve for a handle to Puniſhment; till at laſt, one Day, he reſolv'd to break thro' all the Laws of Reaſon and Humanity, to get rid of the Doctor, the only Check he met with in committing his avaritious Villanies; he call'd me, and without aſſigning any Reaſon, offered to beat me, which I had not been much uſed to formerly; but I had ſo much uſe of my Reaſon, he being my ſuperior Officer, not to act otherwiſe than defenſively. He then called the Soldiers of the Fort, and confined me to a Dungeon for Thirty Three Days, where I was ſupported by an Ounce of Biſsket ſwarming with Vermine, and ſome Water once in Twenty Four Hours, handed in by a Black-Boy. I every Day expected to expire, eat up alive by innumerable Vermine; but his Patience being quite worn out by my living beyond his Expectation, for the Deſign at firſt was certainly to murther me after that manner, that I ſhould not come

Home

Home to tell Tales, he ordered me on Board the *Chandos* Galley, which was to carry 500 Slaves to *Jamaica*. I was entered as Surgeon to the Ship; and I exerted my ſelf honeſtly, as I ought to do, even in that Station, by reviewing the Slaves, and rejecting thoſe that were not merchantable, and entered a Proteſt againſt Fifty Four old, lame, decrepid Invalids, not worth a Farthing, and ſeveral Children which he ſtated in the Company's Books for Women, that were not Ten Years of Age. But that prevailed nothing, for he obliged the Commander, as he did others, to ſign a Bill of Loading for the whole Number, as merchantable Slaves; and gave an Order to the Commander of the *Cleveland*, an interloping Ship, to pick out what Slaves they had agreed for from the whole Cargo; which the Interlopers in general brag of in the *Weſt Indies*, and with very good Reaſon, to the Diſhonour and great Detriment of the Company. I am credibly informed, that this Gentleman has given your Honours a falſe Impreſſion of me, by writing

ting you falſe and ſcandalous Lies: I hope I ſhall have an Opportunity of diſappointing his villanous Deſign, of murdering my Character at Home, as he deſigned my Body Abroad; and ſhew your Honours, and all the World, which of us Two have been the moſt faithful Servant to the Company; and I hope your Honours will do us both Juſtice, to prevent my appealing to the Law of Nature, and as a true Subject of *Britain* to the Laws of the Land, for Redreſs of Grievances which encroach on your Honour, the Company's Intereſt, and my Freedom, as a Subject of a free Country, endeavouring to rob me of my Life, my Effects, my All, my Character. I can't omit telling you, that he has not only ruined the Trade here at preſent, but left it irretrievable for the future, to ſerve his own mercenary Ends, by buying a large Quantity of Cowries for his own Uſe from Interlopers, and ſelling the Company's Cowries to the *Portugueſe*: which put the Slave-Trade intirely into the Hands of the *Portugueſe*, and lowered the Price of Cowries, which

were

were always formerly current Money at Five Ackes of Gold for a grand Cubesse in Booges, but are now reduc'd to Three Ackes. The Mystery is plain! every grand Cubesse in Cowries put Two Ackes in his Pocket, and the Accompts ballanced in the Company's Books, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of Trade in general, and the Company's Interest in particular. But I am weary of telling these and enumerable other Villanies, of which your Honours must soon see the Effects.

Now your Honours may perhaps expect that I'm to entertain you with a Description of the natural Genius, political and religious Government and Customs of the Natives; I shall only say in one Word, that their natural Temper is barbarously cruel, selfish, and deceitful, and their Government equally barbarous and uncivil; and consequently, the Men of greatest Eminency amongst them, are those that are most capable of being the greatest Rogues; Vice, being left without any Check on it, becomes a Virtue. As for their Customs, they ex-

actly reſemble their Fellow Creatures and Natives, the Monkeys: And as for their Religion, they only take their own unciviliz'd Method of becoming a Bubble to the different Fancies of the Bubblers; ſome worſhipping Rocks, others Snakes, Spiders, *&c.* according to the different Humours of the *Fetiche*-Men: And you may find on the Slave Coaſt (where the Country is prodigiouſly populous) Kings with ſeveral Thouſands of Wives, and every Man a Proportionable Number, according to his Abilities; not forgetting a great Number of *Maiden* Wives ſet apart for the *Fetiche*-Men.

I ought likewiſe to give your Honours an Account of the Animal Kingdom on the Coaſt: I can only tell you, that I found a very great Scarcity of the tame eatable Kind on moſt Parts of the *Grain* and *Gold Coaſt*; but that want was ſupplied by the Plenty of Fiſh all along the Coaſt, and the Curioſity ſatisfied with the Sight of vaſt Variety of the wild Kind, ſuch as Elephants, Buffelers, Tygers, Boors, ſeveral ſorts of Harts, Hares, Porcupines, Hedge-Hogs, ſome amphi-

bious

bious Animals, ſuch as the Aligator and Sea-Horſe. We have likewiſe an Animal, which the Gold Coaſt *Negroes* call *Arampo*, and the Slave Coaſt *Negroes*, *Chiphi*, or Man-Eater; which I take to be a diminutive but more voracious Species of a Tyger. It is certain, when we throw out our dead Slaves on the Fields, this Animal carries off and devours them immediately. There is an infinite Variety of Monkeys along the Coaſt, and great Plenty and various Kinds of Lizards; and I have caught ſeveral Camelions here. I ſhall not dwell on a Deſcription of theſe Animals, having told your Honours, that I ſhall bring nothing of the Vegetable, Animal, and Mineral Kingdoms under your Cognizance, but what may either be fit for the Uſe or Subſiſtance of your Settlements on this Coaſt, or prove to the Advantage of the Company for Exportation; and only take notice of them as they fall in with this Narration, without any regard to their due Order. But I muſt not complain too much even of the *Grain* and *Gold Coaſt* for want of

Edibles, only of the Miſmanagement, for want of due Regulations and Diſcipline, which we ſhall talk of anon; for we have Goats, Hogs, Harts, Hares, Doves, Hens, wild and tame Ducks, tame of the *Moſcovia* Kind, and the wild leſſer than ours, Pheaſants or *Guinea* Hens, Fiſh of ſeveral Kinds, ſuch as Mullets, Cod, but different from *European* Cod, Plaiſe, Flounders, Lobſters, Crabs, Prauns, Shrimps, and above all, a Fiſh called the King's Fiſh, with many others that I have no Name for. And at *Gambay* and *Acra*, there is plenty of Mutton and Beef. I might have brought under the Edible Kind, Rats and Mice, which to my Knowledge, one of your Factors was obliged to eat, for want of Neceſſaries of Life; and I myſelf wou'd have been glad of ſuch a Morſel when expiring in a Dungeon, in the midſt of Plenty, when at the ſame Time I had Money enough to purchaſe whatever I wanted; for at *Whydah* we have not only all Manner of Neceſſaries for the Support of Humane Life, but even to feed Luxury, for we have every Thing

here

here that is to be had any where elſe on this Coaſt, and ſeveral additional Things to be had no where elſe. We have Bulls, Cows, Sheep, Goats, Horſes, Mules, Dogs and Cats, with plenty of tame and wild Foul of all ſorts, with great plenty of delicious Fiſh. We have not only all manner of the Edible Kind, but alſo great Variety for Pleaſure; the Crown Bird, tho' ſcarce, is ſometimes found here, with moſt beautiful Green Birds, with innumerable others; but my Genius not being curious enough this way, all the Rarities I have pick'd up are a Sea Horſe's Head, and ſome Flies of the *Cantharides* Kind, exactly reſembling the *Spaniſh* Fly; but I hope your Honours will not make a Demand of Buſhels full for the Uſe of the Company, for I only deſign them as a Preſent for *Don Saltero Curioſo*, at *Chelſea*, as the moſt ingenious and learned Man in his Way that I have the Honour to be known to. And as he is a publick Encourager of Learning, I think it's the Duty of every Perſon to promote his Intereſt to the utmoſt of his Power, for

the

the common Benefit of Mankind. Indeed, I moſt heartily regret the Loſs of a Camelion, which I kept alive for ſome Months, which afforded me Matter of Speculation in my melancholly Hours, by evidently demonſtrating to me the Sympathy between the Soul and the Body; for, according to the different Paſſions you raiſed in the Mind, the Body changed immediately into different Colours: When it was perfectly pleas'd, it was of a beautiful light Green, and the whole Body, Tail and all, appear'd tranſparent; when diſpleas'd or very angry, of a dark brown clowdy Colour, and the Body and Tail perfectly Opake; and according to the intermediate Paſſions from the one Extreme to the other, ſo were the intermediate Colours formed beautiful to Admiration; but this Animal affords Subject-Matter for a ſublime Speculation, which muſt be done by a Perſon free from the preſſing Neceſſities of Life.

I can't miſs taking Notice here of the vulgar Error, of believing that the Teeth are only got of Elephants that are killed;

led; I have all the reason in the World to believe that they cast their Teeth, from the great Quantities of that Commodity exported Yearly, which vastly exceed the Proportion of the Number of Elephants to be found on the Coast, or even in the Inland Countries; and as a Proof, the Quantities of that Commodity encrease Yearly: but I have no just Calculation of the yearly Export. I must likewise tell you, that we have plenty of Silk Cotton Trees here; they are hugely big, and produce Plenty of Pods; but I am credibly informed by an ingenious Mechanick at *London*, that this Cotton can't be manufactur'd; which I naturally conclude, proceeds only from the Trees being over-grown, as I remarked of the big Cotton Tree of the common Kind at *Sierra Leon*; and if there was a Plantation of Shrubs of this Kind, which produce Pods, they would be as fit for Manufacture as any in the World.

I can't well leave this Place, without taking some Notice of the God of *Whydah*, the Snake; of which we have two sorts here, the Fetiche-Snake

and

and Rattle Snake; the former Species, which is what they worſhip, is about a Fathom in Length, and about the Thickneſs of a Man's Wriſt, and finely variegated with different Colours, white, yellow, and brown. This Creature is intirely diveſted of the venomous Nature of a Serpent, and is altogether innocent and harmleſs; I have found them in Bed when I waked, where they had been for ſome Time, without doing the leaſt Harm, farther than raiſing our Reluctancy, by looking at them. Indeed the Rattle Snake, which is ſmaller and black all over, is of a more venomous Nature, and much more active in its progreſſive Motion.

Now I ſhall ſay no more of the Geographical and Natural Hiſtory of this Coaſt, only beg leave to make ſome few Obſervations of the general Hiſtory of Trade, how far it may be improved for the Advantage of *Britain* in general, and the Royal *African* Company in particular, which muſt neceſſarily obviate the Difficulties they lie under at preſent, and ſet their Affairs in a more clear Light.

'Tis

'Tis a known Maxim in Policy, that the Richneſs or Poverty of a Trading Nation depends intirely upon its being more or leſs populous, ſo that the Number of Hands in that Nation are ſo much ſtanding Riches in it; and conſequently, that Trade which leaſt depopulates the Country, and is carried on by its own Manufactures and Products, muſt indiſputably be the moſt advantageous to the Nation, eſpecially when moſt, if not all the Returns are made in ready Specie. How far this will anſwer with the *African* Trade, your Honours, who are a Society of the politeſt Gentlemen and fineſt Merchants, perhaps, in the known World, are the beſt Judges. I only humbly beg leave to ſubmit to your Judgment ſome Matters of Fact, which by travelling the Coaſt, are conſiſtent with my proper Knowledge, and perhaps unknown to your Honours.

You ſee, Gentlemen, by my former Calculation, and methinks I can demonſtrate its Juſtneſs, there are 40000 Ounces of Gold, the Product of the Country, and 30000 Ounces brought to the

Coaſt from *Brazil* by the *Portugueze*, which is *communibus annis*, 70000 Ounces of Gold *per Annum*; this with the Product of 30000 Slaves, beſides thoſe that are carried from *Angola*, which I have not as yet brought under Computation, reckoning thoſe ſold to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, as well as thoſe to the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch* Plantations, your Honours will find them, one with another, even Children included, come out at 30 *l.* Sterling *per* Head, which amounts to 900000 *l.* Sterling; which, with the 70000 Ounces of Gold, come to 1110000 *l.* Sterling. This is beſides Wax, Teeth, Majombo, Palm Oil, *&c.* which I have not brought under Computation. Now, I ſay, let us reckon 6000 Slaves more carried from *Angola* and the *Bite*, which I can't exactly compute, being an entire Stranger to thoſe Places, but I take the Computation to be modeſt enough and within Bounds, which, at the former Rate amounts to 180000 *l.* and the whole Product of the Trade of this Coaſt amounts to 1290000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*, beſides

ſides Wax, Teeth, Majombo, Palm-Oil, *&c.* which indeed I cannot bring under Computation, which are carried off the Coaſt by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, and imported into *Europe*. Indeed, we muſt allow a conſiderable Draw-back on the Slave Trade; for the Number of Slaves carried off the Coaſt by the *Portugueze*, which they purchaſe directly from the *Negroes* with their Tobacco and Stinckabus Rum, and our Cowries, to the great Detriment of our *European* Trade in general, and your Honours Intereſt in particular; which has been intirely owing to the Miſmanagement of your Honours late Chief Agent, Mr. *B—ldw—n*, to ſatiate his own mercenary and avaricious Ends, by ſelling them your Honours Cowries at a low Rate, for ready Gold, as I hinted *pag.* 32.

Now what a glorious and advantagious Trade this is, every *European* Society, as well as private interloping Traders, muſt be ſenſible of, as it is the Hinge on which all the Trade of this Globe moves on; for put a Stop to the

peopling the *European* Plantations Abroad, which could be done from no other Country but this, without depopulating *Europe*: I say, put a stop to the Slave Trade, and all the others cease of Course. Pray who digs the rich Mines of *Peru* and *Brazil*, *&c*? Nay, who sweetens the Ladies Tea, and the generous Bowl; and who reaps the Profit of all? Therefore, let every true *Briton* unanimously join to concert Measures, how to center this advantagious Trade in *England*; and I wish it cou'd be carried on by the Royal *African* Company, who hitherto have been greater Losers than Gainers by it; a Trade so greedily grasp'd at by the laborious *Dutch*, which they purchased by the Property of *Brazil*, in lieu of it. 'Tis only incumbent on me, as an Observator, to lay before your Honours what occurred to me as Hindrances to the Company's Interest, in respect to other *European* Nations, and in particular, by the *English* Interlopers; for as to other Nations, the *Dutch* are the only formidable Antagonists we have to deal with. This

Dutch

Dutch Guinea Company is an united Branch of their *India* Company, of which the States General bear the greateſt Share, excluſive of all Interloping Traders of their own Nation, beſides a Tax of 10 *per Cent.* on all the *Portugueze* Ships trading to this Coaſt, which they had granted them as an Article, in exchanging *Brazil* with the *Portugueze*, in lieu of this Trade; which they ſtrictly demand, and keep a Man of War a cruiſing always on the Coaſt, to put their Orders in Execution, as well againſt the *Portugueze*, as the Interloping Ships of their own Nation. So it plainly appears to your Honours, what great Advantages that Company have over ours; and, indeed, as I has only the Intereſt of *Britain* at Heart, I cou'd and do wiſh from my very Heart, that his moſt gracious Majeſty, who Honours your Society by being your Governor, wou'd take into his Conſideration in Council; and, by Conſent of Parliament, grant your Company a Conditional, excluſive Charter: For it is unreaſonable to expect or demand ſuch a

one

one as your Company had formerly, whilst under the Direction of the Duke of *York*, in King *Charles* the Second's Reign; the sad Effects of which plainly appear'd by the numerous Complaints of his Majesty's Subjects of his Plantations beyond Seas; which, if carried any higher, must have tended to their utter Ruin and Extirpation. Nor is it to be supposed, that even now, if the Company had an unlimited, exclusive Charter, that their Agents wou'd furnish his Majesty's Plantations with Slaves at 30 or 40 *l. per* Head of that Country Money; whereas, in a few Days they can waft them over to the *Spanish American* Coast, where they fetch 300 Pieces of Eight *per* Head, including the King of *Spain*'s Taxes, and other Duties, which makes them come out at above 60 *l.* Sterling; a Price that won't answer with our *American* Plantations: But if his Majesty's Subjects were to compute their Yearly Demand of Negroes that are absolutely necessary for their Service, which might be easily done; and at the same time his Majesty wou'd be pleased

to

to grant the Royal *African* Company, either singly, or united with the *South Sea* Company, a Charter conditionally, to be obliged to furnish his Majesty's Plantations with their Quota of Slaves, demanded at 30 *l.* of the Country Money *per* Head, including Children above Eight or Ten Years of Age; which might answer both the Ends of the Planters of our *American* Plantations, and enable the Company to carry on a Trade, not only exclusive of all *English* Interlopers, but to enhance the Trade solely to themselves, exclusive of all other Nations, and to fetch into *England*, from the Manufactures and Commodities of our own Country, above a Million of Money Sterling Yearly in ready Specie; which is entirely stifled at present, through the Inability of the Company's struggling with such Difficulties, as the great Charge of the Company's maintaining their Settlements Abroad, whilst Interlopers come to take the Bread out of their Mouth; and even assisted in so doing by their own Agents, to serve their own mercenary Ends; whilst

thus

thus weakening one another, the *Dutch*, never forgetful of their own Intereſt, aſſiſted by other Nations, come in to carry off the Profit from both. Such a limited Charter as this, where there is not one Objection left againſt it, put in the Hands of any Society, empowering them to raiſe a ſufficient Sum of Money to carry on that Trade, wou'd not only enable us to furniſh our Quota of Slaves, *viz.* 4800 *per Ann.* to the *Spaniards*, as ſtipulated by the Aſſiento Contract, and to make good former Deficiencies; but naturally bring the Slave Trade entirely into our Hands, excluſive of all other Nations; ſo conſequently reap the Fruits of the *American* Mines, which they only give themſelves the Trouble to dig, but in Hopes of ſuch a glorious and advantageous Trade to *England*.

Let us in the mean time conſider of Methods to ſupport your Honours' Settlements Abroad; which, in ſome little time, if not ſpeedily prevented, are in danger of falling into the Hands of Foreigners, to the Deſtruction of the *Britiſh* Trade, and entire Ruin and Extirpation

pation of his Majesty's *American* Plantations. How far your present Trade answers the Expence, is not my Business, as a Servant, to determine; but, methinks, it puts me in mind of an Observation made by one of your own Society, of a Shop-keeper's renting a Shop for 100 *l.* when he dealt only for 50 *l. per Ann.* But even in this Case, there is still a Remedy left; for if your Honours were to divest your Servants of the Honourable Titles of Captain-General and Chief Governors, and invest Three or more Factors with equal Power; which, with the Chief Surgeon, were to compose the Council; and each Settlement independent one of another, and support none but those that will answer the Charge; your Honours would find, that tho' they were Villains, whose Inclinations led them to cheat their Masters, yet their own Interest would so jar one with another, that they wou'd be necessarily obliged to do their Masters Justice: Whereas now the Despotick Power of the Governor, even tho' lodged in villanous Hands, must go uncontroul'd, without any Check

or Curb, of which I here produce a late Inſtance; and that none ſhou'd be promoted to be Factors, but thoſe that have ſerv'd as Writers, with a due Obſervance of their Seniority. This OEconomy, with a ſtrict Friendſhip and Correſpondence kept amongſt your Honours Servants thro' all your Settlements along the Coaſt; which, muſt be effectuated by keeping a certain Number of ſmall Veſſels, Six or Eight, always a cruiſing on the Coaſt, with proper Goods for picking up what Slaves and other Commodities are to be purchas'd, and depoſited at any of your Settlements, till your large annual Ships which fetch your Goods from *England*, which ought always to ſweep the Coaſt from the moſt Windward of your Settlements, call for them, and leave in their room a new Cargo of Goods, which your Factors of that Settlement are to diſpoſe of to the beſt Advantage, as accountable to your Honours in purchaſing more Slaves and other Commodities; and grant a Power to the Commanders of your Ships to make what Slaves they can in Coaſting, allowing a handſome

Commiſſion to your Factors and Commanders for what Slaves, *&c.* they purchaſe for the Uſe of the Company; for there is nothing more certain, that if they don't live fairly, they muſt live foully; this wou'd engage People of real Merit into your Honours Service, and to be hearty and honeſt whilſt in your Service, ſeeing their own Intereſt depends entirely upon their Maſters': Whereas, by the preſent Eſtabliſhment, the private Intereſt of your Governors, prompted by Ambition, Avarice and Deſpotick Power, makes all your Inferior Servants ſink under Oppreſſion, and wiſh for *Tyburn* in Exchange for their preſent Condition.

Now methinks I ſee all the Superior Servants of each of your Honours Settlements eating at the ſame Table, ſupported at the Company's Charge, laying down and unanimouſly concerting Meaſures for the Intereſt of their Maſters, whoſe Bread they are preſently eating; whilſt your little Coaſting Veſſels bring Aſſurances that your other Settlements are doing the ſame, and only want their Aſſiſtance how to

promote your Intereſt farther, whilſt your annual Ships arrive with a freſh Supply of Goods, and proper *European* Neceſſaries for the Uſe of your Settlements; which wou'd make your Forts the common Repoſitories and Markets of the Coaſt, and turn the Channel of this glorious and advantageous Trade entirely into the Hands of the *Engliſh*: But how widely this differs from the preſent Management, is only known to thoſe who have been on the Spot, to ſee and feel it.

Now it is only left incumbent on me, as my proper Buſineſs, to give your Honours ſome Account of the Diſeaſes ſo fatal to your Servants Abroad, with their Cauſes and Remedies; and humbly to ſubmit ſome few Propoſals for the better Preſervation of your Servants Health Abroad. It appears by my Journal, (which I ſhall not preſume to trouble your Honours with a Detail of here; but am willing to ſubmit it, by your Honours Orders, to the Examination of any of the Fraternity,) that Two third Parts and more of the Diſeaſes ſo fatal

to your Servants are Diarrhœas and Dyſenteries, either as the Diſeaſe itſelf, or Symptomatical of a Fever, which ſweep off the Patients without Mercy; which proceeds entirely from their drinking Palm Wine or Potoe, and eating Bread call'd *Cankee*. This Palm Wine is the Juice of the Palm Tree, gather'd by boring a Hole in the Tree, and putting a Pipe in it, which drops Gutt by Gutt from the Tree into a Veſſel or Pitcher fit to receive it; and when freſh drawn juſt from the Tree, by its ſubtle penetrating Particles, is a moſt powerful Diuretick, and paſſes in a Moment's time, and at the ſame time inebriates, and is agreeable enough to the Taſte; but if it ſtands any Time, eſpecially when confined from the open Air, nay, in Twenty four Hours I have known it to turn ſo acrid and corroſive to diſſolve Iron, by making a viſible Impreſſion on it; ſo if it chances to meet with any Obſtruction or Retardment in the Stomach, or any other Veſſels of the animal OEconomy, it undergoes a Fermentation, and produces moſt diſmal Effects, not in the Power of any Medi-

Medicines to remedy; for the Matter turns ſo acrid, that it firſt brings away all that's in the Inteſtines, with the very Mucus that lines their Coats, which is its State whilſt a Diarrhœa; then the Matter turns more and more acrid, being depriv'd of the Mixture of the Juices of the Stomach and Inteſtines, cuts the ſmaller Veſſels, and even ſometimes the larger, and brings away the very Coats of the Inteſtines piece-meal, which is its diſmal agonizing State of a Dyſentery, not in the Power of any Medicine to remedy; for I have try'd all ſorts even in its Infancy, Purgatives, Aſtringents, Opiates, all of the ſame effect waſhed off that Moment they're taken, by the corroſive Humour, which at the ſame time infected the whole Maſs of Blood; I have likewiſe made uſe of Abſorbents and Emollient Glyſters, but all to the ſame purpoſe; no Remedy left but by preventing its Cauſes in others. What I have ſaid of the Effects of Palm Wine may juſtly be aſcribed to Potoe, only with this difference, that the Particles of this Liquor being groſſer, and conſequently

more

more unactive, makes it less Diuretick, and more flatulent; so that it seldom or never misses Obstructions and Retardments in its Passage; which swells them up prodigiously, and produces by its Fermentation all the different Gradations of the former dismal Effects. This Liquor is only an Infusion of Water, with the common Grain call'd *Milhio* or *Millet*: They take the greater sort of on the *Gold Coast*, and the small Grain call'd *Maiz* on the *Slave Coast*; this they infuse in common Water, without preparing the Grain for the Infusion, and allow it to steep for some Days; then pour off the Infusion, which as yet has undergone no Fermentation for want of Yeast; but so soon as confin'd from the open Air, as in Bottles, or even in the Stomach, it undergoes a most violent Fermentation, by expanding itself, to the inevitable Destruction of the Bottles, or even the animal Fabrick, by producing the former dismal Effects: And as *Cankee* is nothing but Bread made of this Grain, jammed or grinded between two Stones, with Palm Wine or Potoe, which serves instead of Yeast,

Yeaſt, accounting for the Effects of the one, ſufficiently demonſtrates the bad Effects of the other.

There is but one other Diſeaſe epidemically fatal to your Servants, which they call the *Seaſoning*, known to all *Europeans* that come under the *Torrid Zone*, which is nothing but a Fever, caus'd by the Change of the Climate; but to account for this Diſeaſe, with all its different Symptoms and Effects, wou'd be to give an exact Analytical Deſcription of the different Qualities of the Air, and Effects they produce on humane Bodies; an Eſſay reſerved for my more eaſy and leiſure Hours, more fit to entertain the Fraternity, than to inſtruct your Honours in what is entirely foreign from our Subject. Yet I cannot omit telling you one ſtrange Quality of the Air: When there blows an Eaſterly Wind here, I have ſeen it open the cloſe Seams of an Eſcritore, ſo that you might thruſt a Crown-Piece into it, and bend the Covers of the Books, juſt as if they were laid over the Fire, or expos'd to the darting Rays of the Sun

at

at Noon; and at the ſame Time you feel a ſenſible Alteration of the Animal Fabrick, which feels more of a Chillneſs of the Air than over-hot; which if any one is reduced low by Sickneſs, cuts them off without Mercy; and ſoon after the Wind changes, the Eſcrutore, Books, *&c.* are reduced of their own Accord, to their former State.

The only two Diſeaſes epidemical in this Country, that fall under your Honours Cognizance, as the only proper Phyſicians to remedy them, are Tyrannical Oppreſſion, and Want of Neceſſaries of Life. I ſhall give your Honours an Inſtance of the one, and lay down a Method for preventing the other. When I arriv'd at *Whydah*, I found a poor unlucky young Man, one *Francis Marſhal*, a Writer in your Honours Service, juſt expiring, ſunk under the Load of barbarous Oppreſſion; he told me, which was atteſted by all on the Spot, that Governor *B—ldw—n* caus'd him to be ſtript naked, and whipt at the Tree, after a moſt inhumane and barbarous

Manner; as afterwards I have ſeen him treat ſeveral of the Soldiers, and confine *Bailie* the Carpenter to a Dungeon, with his Hands and Legs in Double Irons for above a Month's Time. And that I may repay Mr. *B—ldw—n* in his own Style; I ſay, "Whether it was Mr. *B—ldw—n*'s Ignorance, or malicious Cruelty, we "know not; but verily believe ſeveral "of your Honours Servants periſhed, "either through one or both; not did "it lie in our Power to make him do "leſs, except we had been inveſted "with a Power equal to his; for "tho' he was particularly recommended, nay took Oath, not to trade on "his own private Account, we never "cou'd prevail on him to obey and obſerve it in any one Point." 'Tis certain, that poor *Marſhal* did die in a very miſerable Condition, quite ſunk in Spirit; but whether of the Governor or Doctor I ſhall not determine, but ſubmit it entirely to the Determination of your Honours, as appears *per* Journal; but I wiſh our Governor has not left his at *Whydah*. The

The Want of Neceſſaries of Life does not ſo much proceed from the Scarcity of the Country, or Want of a competent Allowance from your Honours for Maintenance, as it is the Effect of Deſpotick Power; which, when it chances to be lodged in villanous Hands, inevitably produces Miſery; which emblematically repreſents, with the utmoſt Abhorrence and Reluctancy to humane Nature, the Subjects of a fine fertile Country groaning under the utmoſt Miſery, to feed the avaricious Ambition of an Abſolute Monarch; nor do I believe the latter has more Power from Heaven, than the former has from your Honours, in ſo doing; and as humane Policy will naturally take Care of the one, ſo I hope your Honours will rectify the other, after the following Regulations.

I. That all the Officers, even including the Writers, ſhall eat at the ſame Table, handſomely furniſhed at the Company's Expence, which might be done for leſs Charge than their Subſiſtence Money comes to; whereas at pre-

ſent every one, I mean Factors and Writers, eats, or I may rather ſay, ſtarves by himſelf.

II. That there be another Table maintain'd at the Company's Charge, for the Tradeſmen and Soldiers, with the inferior Officer, Serjeant, or Corporal, to ſee they obſerve due Diſcipline and Order.

III. That there be a Steward, a Man well known to the Country, ſet apart for furniſhing this Table, with wholeſome Proviſions; That he may have ſufficient Stores always breeding up, as he ſhall anſwer to the Members of the Council.

IV. That there be an Infirmary for the Sick, with proper Servants for attending them; which is wanting in all your Settlements, except *Cape Coaſt*.

V. That there be ſufficient Stores of *European* Flower or Bisket, Wine, and other *European* Liquors, for the Supply of thoſe that are well, as well as ſick; and that they be ſtrictly prohibited thoſe never-failing Deſtroyers, the eating of *Cankee*, and drinking of Palm Wine, or Potoe.

VI. That

VI. That there be a Piece of Gardening Ground ſet a-part for a Nurſery of Greens and Roots, *&c.* for their Uſe.

Now, Gentlemen, I have given you a true and impartial Account of what Obſervations occurred to me from my firſt Arrival on the Coaſt of *Africa* to my Departure from thence; and I hope your Honours and the World will have the Goodneſs to excuſe the naked Dreſs they appear in, when I aſſure your Honours, from the Bottom of my Soul, that I had only the Intereſt of my Country in general, and the Royal *African* Company's in particular, at Heart, when I diſplay what a glorious and advantageous Trade this is, and the Hinge on which all the Trade of this Globe turns, and how it might be center'd in *England*, to the great Honour and Advantage of the Nation, with proper Meaſures to remove what Obſtructions and Hinderances it lies under at preſent; and at the ſame Time that I do my Country Service, I free my Character, falſly

falsly attack'd, only to cloak Villany; and, according to the old Proverb, *Lay the Saddle upon the right Horse*: And I can only assure your Honours of their Veracity, for an Excuse of Inelegancy, which I take for a full Discharge of the Duty I owe my Country, as a Subject of *Great Britain*, and a faithful Servant to the *Royal African Company*.

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